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The Fight For True Democracy

A NYONE who is concerned about the future of democracy in South Africa must have been disturbed by certain aspects of the parliamentary session which ended in the usual legislative scramble on 15th June. Two features of the session have been stressed by press observers in the Gallery. One is an increasing tendency by Cabinet Ministers to side-step or ignore questions put by members with the object of eliciting information; the other is the readiness of Government supporters to substitute interjections for debate. Finally we were treated to the spectacle of a tired Opposition trying to sustain debate on at least two controversial Bills when the Prime Minister and senior civil servants had already left for Pretoria as if the session had been over.

The Speaker is, of course, the guardian of the dignity of the House of Assembly and he can be trusted to see that, as far as procedure and manners are concerned, there is no slackening of standards. But it is quite possible for the spirit to go out of a legislative body without the letter of its law being altered in any way. In other words, you can have a parliament without the spirit of parliamentary tradition.

Democracy is a way of thought, not a body of rules. In this generation we have learned nothing if we do not realise that democracy cannot be written down on paper. The Russians call their Soviet regime a democracy

Die Stryd Om Opregte Demokrasie

DIEGENE wat belangstel in die toekoms van die demokrasie in Suid-Afrika, moet seker verontrus voel oor sekere aspekte van die parlementêre sessie wat so pas met die gebruiklike wetgewende oormekaar-vallery op 15 Junie geëindig het. Die perswaarnemers in die gallery het twee kenmerke beklemtoon. Een is die toenemende neiging van Kabinet Ministers om vrae, wat lede stel teneinde inligting te kry, óf verby te spring óf te ignoreer; en die ander is die bereidwilligheid van die Regeringsondersteuners om tussenwerpsels in die plaas te stel van bespreking. Ten slotte staan ons voor die skouspel van 'n uitgeputte opposisie wat bespreking in sake tenminste twee betwisbare wetsontwerpe aan die gang probeer hou, terwyl die Eerste Minister en senior staatsamptenare alreeds na Pretoria vertrek het asof die sessie oor is.

Die Speaker is natuurlik die beskermer van die waardigheid van die Volksraad en ons kan daarop reken dat hy geen verslapping van die standaarde wat betref prosedure en gedrag sal toe laat nie. Maar dit is heeltemal moontlik om die gees van 'n wetgewende liggaam te blus, sonder dat die letter van die reglemente verander word. Met ander woorde, dit is heeltemal moontlik om 'n parlement te hê sonder die gees van die parlementêre tradisie.

Demokrasie is 'n geesteshouding, nie 'n stel reëls nie. In die geslag het ons niks geleer as ons nie besef dat demokrasie nie iets is wat and deny the word to anybody else. Any totalitarian state with an alleged parliament sitting somewhere can call itself a democracy. But that is not the same thing as what we mean by democracy. There is a great deal more to it than that.

It is to be feared that, viewed from this angle, the present Government is not truly democratic in spirit. Ministers do not give the impression of having the necessary veneration for either the Courts or Parliament itself. Take, for instance, the Prohibition of Interdicts Bill, which caused so much trouble at the end of This is a typical bureaucrat's the Session. measure, and from the point of view of a busy Minister, no doubt it is an excellent thing. By making it difficult for Natives to go to court in certain circumstances, it will save trouble, time and money. To the Native Affairs Department it must appeal as a thoroughly efficient piece of work. But efficiency is not everything.

DEDICATION

In pride and humbleness we declare our devotion to the land of South Africa, we dedicate ourselves to the service of our country, we re-affirm our loyalty to the contract of Union which brought us together. We pledge ourselves to uphold the ideals by which our Union was inspired, of mutual trust and forbearance, of sanctity of word, of courage for the future, and of peace and justice for all persons and peoples. We pledge ourselves to resist any diminishment of these, confident that this duty is required of us, and that history and our children will defend us.

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

From a moral viewpoint this legislation is repulsive. It brings the colour bar into justice in a blatant way, and makes nonsense of the theory that all men are equal before the law. This would be enough to condemn it, even if it were the most admirable statute in all other respects. But the Minister either cannot or

(Continued on page 4)

geboekstaaf kan word nie. Die Russe beskryf hulle Sowjet regime as demokrasie en ontken dat iemand anders die reg daartoe het. Enige totalitariese Staat met 'n beweerde parlementêre vergadering, kan homself 'n demokrasie noem. Maar wat hulle deur demokrasie bedoel is nie dieselfde as wat ons bedoel nie. Daar steek meer in as net dit.

RULE BY THE MAJORITY IS NOT DEMOCRACY UNLESS THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF THE MINORITY OR MINORITIES ARE RESPECTED.

GERALD GORDON in *The Cape Times*, 14th February.

As mens dit van hierdie standpunt beskou, vrees ons dat die huidige regering nie werklik demokraties in gees is nie. Ministers maak nie die indruk dat hulle die nodige eerbied voel of vir die Howe of vir die parlement self Neem, by., die Verbod op Interdikte wetsontwerp, wat so baie moeilikheid aan die ent van die sitting veroorsaak het. Dit is 'n tipiese maatreël van die burokraat, en van die standpunt van 'n besige Minister, waarskynlik 'n uitstekende maatreël. Deur dit moeilik te maak vir naturelle om onder sekere omstandighede hof toe te gaan, sal tyd, moeite en geld bespaar word. Vir die Department van Naturellesake sal dit seker as 'n uitstekende stuk werk voorkom. Maar doeltreffendheid is nie Van 'n morele standpunt is die alles nie. wetgewing afstootlik. Dit bring die kleurslagboom op 'n flagrante manier binne in ons reg, en maak onsin van die teorie dat almal gelyk is in die oë van die wet. Dit opsigself sou die wet veroordeel, al was dit in alle ander opsigte prysenswaardig. Maar die Minister kan of wil dit nie insien nie. Selfs toe daarop gewys is dat net die naam van die wetsontwerp dit aanstootlik maak vir al ons kritici oorsee, en hulle ergste vermoedens bevestig, was dr. Verwoerd onbewoë.

Dit is een van die redes waarom ons sê dat hy en sy kollegas in die Kabinet, geen ware begrip het van die demokrasie nie—of as hulle verstaan wat dit beteken, skyn hulle te reken dat dit nie van toepassing is op die "ander rasse" nie.

(Vervolg op bladsy 4)

THE WALRUS AND THE CARPENTER

(With apologies to Lewis Carroll)

THE sun it shone on Bantustan,
It shone with all its might,
It did its best to make it seem
Both prosperous and bright,
And this was odd, 'cos there were only
Kaffir huts in sight.

THE moon was shining sulkily,
Because she thought the sun
Had got no business to announce
Apartheid had begun.
"Moonshine is my prerogative,
Why must you spoil the fun?"

THE vleis were dry as dry could be,
The veld was bare as bare,
One solitary optimist
Was busy working there,
'Twas Tomlinson (Professor)
Building castles in the air.

THE Walrus and the Carpenter,
Were walking through the Town,
They wept like anything to see
Such quantities of Brown.
"If this was only cleared away,"
They said, "We'd settle down."

"WITH tons and tons of legislation, And some more next year, Do you suppose," the Walrus said, "That we shall get it clear?"
"I doubt it," said the Carpenter, And shed a bitter tear.

FOUR young voters hurried up,
And yet another four,
And thick and fast they came at last,
From East to Western shore,
All gulping propaganda in,
And clamouring for more.

"THE time has come," the Walrus said,
"To talk of separate Rolls,
Of wicked men who dare to speak
Against our noble goals,
Of lots and lots of Senators,
And whether Blacks have souls."

"A LOVELY new Republic, Is what we chiefly need. Passports at Our Discretion, too, Are very good indeed. So if you're ready, voters dear, Your cases you can plead."

"BUT tell us why," the voters cried,
Turning a little blue,
"We're all South Africans, you know,
And just as good as you!"
"The night is fine," the Walrus said,
"Do you admire the view?"

"IT was so good of you to come,
And you are very nice —
You've got some Freedom still, you say?—
I'd like another slice!
Pass me the muzzles, Carpenter,
I've had to ask you twice.

"DEAR voters, you've been sensible,
No need to be so glum.
Shall we be trotting on our way?"
But answer came there none.
And this was scarcely odd, because
The wretched things were dumb.

M.L.S.

THE FIGHT FOR TRUE DEMOCRACY (Continued from page 2)

will not be brought to see that argument. Even when it was pointed out to him that the very name of the Bill itself would make it obnoxious to all our critics overseas and confirm some of their worst fears, Dr. Verwoerd was unmoved.

That is one of the reasons why we say that he and his Cabinet colleagues are lacking in a true understanding of the meaning of democracy—or, if they understand what it means, then they apparently think that it is not for the "other races".

To exploit the processes of democracy without really trying to put the philosophy into practice is a not uncommon trick. Hitler used it as long as it suited his purpose, and there are signs that our present Government is capable of going the same way. The Senate Act was even defended on the grounds that it was "more democratic". Such twisted reasoning, if the Nationalists really believe what they say, can be highly dangerous.

As Sir Winston Churchill was fond of saying, democracy is the worst form of government ever invented—except all the other forms of government that have been invented. He is a true democrat and knows what he means by that word. It is true that real democracy is one of the most difficult things in the world to achieve, but the Black Sash believes that it is worth trying—even when it hurts. It has been made to work in South Africa in the past and can be made to work again in the future.

A COLLECTIVE FIGHT FOR HIGHER MORAL VALUES

A N admirer of our movement, a man of some standing in the community, told me the other day that the "Black Sash League" was the finest thing that had happened in South Africa in 45 years. He added that the Newsletter, properly handled, could be one of the most powerful weapons for good in this country to-day.

I do not think he has overstated the case.

It has been the concern of men from the beginning of the nineteenth century to band themselves together for economic purposes—higher wages, better living conditions, more leisure. The economic, as opposed to the moral, need has been the man's preoccupation, necessarily so. He has to bear the burden of the support of wife, children, dependants of one kind or another, from the time he first earns to the time he retires or dies. I speak, of course, of the general state of affairs, ignoring, for the sake of my argument, the thousands of women who find themselves in like case.

The emancipated woman of the twentieth century has so far failed to appreciate that she can now balance the man's concentration on the desperate business of earning a living by an equally strong concentration on moral issues. The balance of interest so shared in any society should benefit all.

In South Africa the woman has achieved education and the vote. Her chief concern in her home has always been to see that her children are brought

DIE STRYD OM OPREGTE DEMOKRASIE (Vervolg van bladsy 2)

Om demokratiese prosesse uit te buit sonder om werklik te probeer om die filosofie daarvan uit te leef is geen seldsame verskynsel nie. Hitler het daarvan gebruik gemaak vir so lank as dit beantwoord het aan sy doel, en daar is tekens dat ons huidige Regering ook in staat is om op dié weg te gaan. Die Senaatwet het hulle selfs verdedig op grond daarvan dat dit "meer demokraties" is. As die Nasionaliste werklik glo wat hulle sê kan sulke verdraaide redenering hoogs gevaarlik wees.

Soos Sir Winston Churchill graag opgemerk het, die demokrasie is die slegste regeringsvorm wat nog bedenk is—buiten al die ander regeringsvorms. Hy is 'n ware demokraat en weet wat hy deur daardie woord bedoel. Dit is waar dat die demokrasie een van die moeilikste dinge in die wêreld is om te bereik, maar die Swart Serp glo dat dit die moeite werd is om te probeer—selfs al maak dit seer. In Suid-Afrika het ons dit in die verlede bereik en ons kan dit weer in die toekoms doen.

up with some principles and decency. She therefore has a natural interest in decency, integrity and morality.

I have said that men of the nineteenth century formed pressure groups and bargained collectively for material needs. I suggest that the time has come when women should also form pressure groups and fight collectively on behalf of moral values without which all our material advancement is completely valueless.

Our Women's Defence of the Constitution League is, at the present moment, without itself being aware of the fact, just such a pressure group. It was formed, not to demand higher wages, but higher political morality, not better working conditions, but the restoration of Constitutional Government in South Africa.

D.R.

FACT AND FICTION

FICTION:

The constant refrain which is heard from political platforms and in private conversations: "Do you wish to see your sister or your daughter marry a native, or see your children sitting on the same school benches as Coloured children?"

FACT:

In reply to this fiction we quote from Dr. Keet's book "Suid-Afrika-Waarheen?" On page 62 Dr. Keet says: "This strong colour-feeling is used as one of the most powerful arguments for the necessity of apartheid measures; without apartheid there would be constant friction and clashes between white and non-white. But strangely enough, when mixing of blood or intermarriage is seen as a threatening danger, then it is taken for granted that the colour-feeling and all that goes with it, will suddenly disappear, and that a general mingling of colour will take place. Why in the one case it should cause friction and ill-feeling and in the other lead to mingling of blood and colour, is not stated. The fact is that the whole history of the whites in South Africa gives the lie to the last statement. Among the whites there is no such inclination to be observed. the whites there is no such inclination to be observed, with the exception of one or two less civilised beings who feel more at home among the non-whites, and for the non-whites there lies a very long road ahead before they will have reached a state in which they will be on an equal footing with the whites, and all colour prejudice will be overcome . . . There is therefore no ground for the fear that the white population of South Africa will have to surrender its identity in the foreseeable future if it is not restrained by legislation. In any case it is a most unreasonable supposition to think that to show ordinary fairness and friendliness, to acknowledge and respect the personality of any less well-endowed or less privileged person whatsoever, must necessarily lead to social intimacy or intermarriage."

AND OUR CHILDREN?

RECRUITING in our town goes on steadily: in our Region as a whole the response latterly has been magnificent. There are still many ingenious excuses given, however, for non-participation in the Movement; the most startling and significant being one given lately by an Afrikaans-speaking member of the community.

She said that although she and her husband did not personally support the Government, their children and the neighbours' children were being brought up as Nationalists in the schools, and they felt therefore that any effort on their part would be useless, and it was best to accept the situation and hope that it would not turn out too badly in the end.

Such an attitude is, of course, deplorable; and one realizes how very late, indeed, is the hour; how great the guilt of all of us for allowing such a situation to develop in the first place. We have not been without warning, through the years; but we have all adopted the attitude that it is none of our business. And so the canker has grown: the slow, insidious growth of state control; the monster that, unless we crusade against it, will finally eat away all our liberties and bring us down into darkness and dishonour among the nations.

One of the greatest tasks that confronts us is to try and bring it home to each person, individually, that there are two distinct Nationalisms, and whereas one is harmless, even beneficial, the other is the greatest menace that can attack mankind.

There is the Nationalism that is best described as Nation-building: when great and good men get together and try to work together for the common good. Out of such a combination our Union was born; men of two races, and in some cases of widely divulgent viewpoints, were able to thrash out the problems that confronted them, and for the sake of a greater South Africa each agreed to sacrifice something, to compromise somewhere, for the good of the whole. That is Nationalism at its best; and it can never be brought to function at all unless all the impulses that direct it are honourable; unless, quite simply, people can agree to tell and act the truth.

The other Nationalism is the Nationalism that is abroad in South Africa today; the Nationalism of Hitler; the Nationalism, one might even say, of Communism, because it is all one and the same thing. In it there is no compromise, no consideration for the other fellow's viewpoint; no particular regard, even, for the truth. Truth, in this sort of Nationalism, becomes subjective and not objective; it is, in other words, anything we like it to be at the moment. This is the kind of Nationalism that our children are being taught, and all their lessons are coloured by it: their history, their geography, even their fundamental morality and their sport. The seeds are sown; the harvest is still to come.

The parents who acquiesce, who shrug their shoulders and throw out their hands, are as guilty,

in the long run, as the unscrupulous people who are willing to sell our children to the State; who are cynically capable of using young and impressionable minds to stir up hatred and strife. The parents, in the end, will reap the worst of the harvest. We all know how the situation developed in Nazi Germany: how the children were taught to spy upon their parents, to inform against them. "That can never happen here," it is said.

It can happen here, it may happen here. We are fond of relegating the Germans to a place apart, to making them appear unique as a people; to believing that their experience cannot repeat itself anywhere in the world. But basically men and women are the same: what was in the Germans is to greater or lesser degree in us also. It is only civilization, proper education, and above all a democratic way of living, that can keep such horrors from us. If we let go of high principles, if we let corruption steal in through the door whilst truth flies out of the window, there is nothing to prevent us going the way that Germany went; and in a country like ours, where there is also a colour problem to contend with, it can only mean the death of South Africa.

It must not happen to us. We must have the courage to speak and to act, to protest and protest again. We must get rid, once and for all, of this grey ghost that stalks our land: the ghost of fear. The fear of intimidation, the fear of victimization; the fear of "what will my neighbour think?"

And our children? "Make straight paths for the little child, upon whose feet the race itself marches forward." Our babies all come from God the same; they are not born English, or Afrikaner, or Russian, or Polish. Let them be together, play together, learn together; let them grow together under God. Then will our harvest be a rich harvest, and our country will go forward to her true and proper destiny. We need Nation-builders, not "Nationalists".

M.P.W.

To the Editor of the Black Sash/Swart Serp.

I FEEL that we must tell you how good we thought the Newsletter is. Of particular excellence is the Fact and Fiction column—indeed the one explaining that the constitution was framed by the four provinces and not altered at all by Britain should be repeated each month. So much false propaganda has been spread on the subject.

Distances are great here, but I am taking Newsletters and cards round. I am sure our efforts will bear fruit in the end.

V.L.

N. Transvaal.

A PARALLEL WITH NAZI GERMANY

To the Editor of The Black Sash.

I have just returned from listening to a magnificent address by Miss C. van Heyningen, on the deprivation of liberty in South Africa to-day. I feel that readers of the Newsletter should be made fully aware of our position, and would be glad if you would allow me to express some of the thoughts her address provoked.

Miss van Heyningen pointed out that no country is governed unless law stands above any individual or M.P. Parliament must be sovereign, not the member.

The Prohibition of Interdicts Bill and its bedfellow remove a fundamental right to appeal from the Africans, and is regarded as utterly shameful by all right thinking people. Miss van Heyningen said that the principle that Hitler employed in Germany was the same that is being used in South Africa to-day. His method was to begin by attacking some small section of the community. A section that the comfortable classes were not greatly concerned about. With this section completely under his control he then moved on to the other sections, who by this time had no power to act. You see the technique? Use a scapegoat, and the rest follows.

If we allow injustices to the Black People, we will surely reap the harvest. People get used to the idea of some people having no rights, and they take it for granted. Hitler also trained his men to do senseless acts to brutalise them, one instance being when S.S. men entered a home and systematically destroyed all the beautiful china and pottery, and smashed it under foot.

THE AWAKENING

To the Editor of The Black Sash.

After having heard an inspiring address by a man of the calibre of Mr. Justice Lucas, I can understand how conscience, once stirred, can rouse to action a mass of otherwise lethargic people. For, stronger than the conflict of racial prejudice and "colourbar" in this cosmopolitan country of ours, is the latent desire of the normal person to ensure that justice is meted out by the powers-that-be to each and every citizen, however humble be his status, whatever his creed, conviction, colour or race.

Thus, like a great animal shaking off the last vestige of a hibernation sleep, which in this case has lasted years, we now band together to preach our doctrine of justice in every way we can devise, and in every hour we can spare away from our families. We are quietly, and with dignity, fighting this battle for honour and freedom for them. Incredibly hard the fight is, for people of a formerly happy-go-lucky South Africa, born and bred to the slogan "Môre is nog 'n dag!"

JEAN LUNTZ.

The same answer can be given to a South African to-day, as was given by a Swiss during the Nazi regime.

A Swiss and a Nazi were talking and the Swiss spoke about his "Admiral". "How can you have an Admiral when you haven't a Navy?" asked the German. "Why not," replied the Swiss, "You have a Minister of Justice!"

PIETERMARITZBURG SASHER.

QUALITY VS. QUANTITY

To the Editor of The Black Sash.

Emerson said that power lies in quality and not in quantity and in that observation is to be found the key to the solution of all our troubles in this country. If the Government were to realise this truth they would not so fear the predominating numbers of the non-Europeans, and they would know that by the quality of their actions they will stand or fall.

We need the quality of integrity in our dealings one with another.

We need the quality of trust in God to solve our problems, and we do not trust Him when we ourselves have not deserved trust from those who have not our inheritance of centuries of civilisation.

We need the quality of courtesy towards all those in less privileged positions than ourselves.

We need the quality of generosity to give all the help we can to those who aspire to knowledge and a higher standard of living.

We need the quality of confidence, knowing that in helping another we have helped ourselves.

We need the quality of fear—of God—for surely in hurting the essential dignity of another human being, we ourselves will be the eventual sufferers.

We need the quality of courage to go forward in the only Light which matters—and that is to do unto others as we would they should do unto us. Then we shall find that the Power and the Glory are with us—the Power against which nothing evil can prevail.

M.L.P.

IS IT GOOD ETHICS, OR GOOD POLITICS, TO CONFER BENEFITS AND WITHHOLD RESPECT?

ERIC ROUTLEY in a letter to the London Times.

HOW OUR COUNTRY IS RUN

The Second in a Series of Articles for our Younger Readers

OF the 159 Members of Parliament, three are elected under the Representation of Natives Act, 1936, and six represent South-West Africa. The remaining 150 are our immediate concern as voters in the Union

of South Africa.

From time to time a Delimitation Commission divides the country into 150 areas, called constituencies, differing greatly in area, but all containing roughly the same number of voters, usually 10,000 to 11,000. Country districts, which are more sparsely populated than city areas, may have 10 per cent. to 15 per cent. less than the average. A later article in this series will give you more information about this system of "loading" and "unloading" and about the work of the Delimitation Commission.

Any political party office will tell you in which constituency you are registered. The General Election is now imminent, Parliament has been dissolved, the names of the rival party candidates are announced and the election campaign begins. Political meetings are held, and as you are going to vote for one of the candidates, you should go to hear what each

has to say.

Listen intelligently. Do not be misled by election slogans, hackneyed phrases or vague promises. You will hear them all. You must determine for yourself which party will govern the country according to honest principles and for the good of all the inhabitants, and once you have satisfied yourself in this respect, try to find out whether the party's candidate will abide by those principles. This is important, because he may, after being elected to Parliament, decide to abandon his party, and, unless he is honest enough to resign his seat, nothing can dislodge him until the next General Election.

It is, of course, much more interesting to join a political party, because you then have a voice (remember, you are "mondig") in the choice of the candidate. It works this way: You join the nearest branch of the party in which you are interested, and by actively working and holding office in that branch you may in time become a delegate from that branch to meet other delegates from other branches to decide, by vote, which of the party's candidates is the best for the job of M.P. for your constituency. There may be several people competing for the candidature; the one who is chosen by the party members is the one who will fight the election. It is therefore possible for you to have a voice in deciding, not only the Party which will win the election, but the man or woman who will represent your party in the fight.

Sometimes, when one political party is extremely strong in a constituency, the other parties decide not to put up a candidate there, and that seat is uncontested. Bad luck for you if you live in that area—you will not be able to use your newly-

acquired vote in this election.

Election Day dawns. Some time between 7 a.m. and 8 p.m. you go to your Polling Booth to record your vote. Your name is checked on the Voters'

Roll, you are handed a ballot paper, you make your cross against the name of the candidate whom you favour, and place your paper in a sealed ballot box. Curiously, ballot papers do not carry the names of the political parties, only the names of the opposing candidates, usually two, sometimes three, if another party or an independent candidate chooses to contest the seat.

At 8 p.m. the Polling Booth is closed, the ballot boxes are sealed in the presence of the various officials and the candidates or their agents, and removed The votes are counted, again in the presence of officials and candidates, postal votes being added, and the name of the successful candidate announced. When this process has been completed all over the country, the Governor-General in the name of the Queen invites the leader of the successful party to form the Government. Each political party is naturally prepared for this, and the leader, who now becomes Prime Minister, announces the composition The Cabinet Ministers, generally of his Cabinet. thirteen or fourteen, are chosen from the leading party members, and each is responsible for one State Department, and is said to hold a portfolio for that Department, which may be Finance, Defence, Agriculture, Transport, Economic Affairs, Justice, Health and Social Welfare, External Affairs, the Interior, Posts and Telegraphs, Native Affairs, Education or any other department which controls a facet of the life of the country.

Normally, Parliament begins its sessions during January each year, but after a general election, which usually takes place in May, Parliament, which consists of the House of Assembly and the Senate, will meet in Cape Town in July. The successful party is now the Government, the largest of the defeated parties the official Opposition. The Governor-General formally opens the session, and his speech, known as the Speech from the Throne, usually reflects the policy which has been determined by the Government. That speech is therefore of vital importance to all citizens.

MUST WE WAIT FOR ANOTHER DUNKIRK?

To the Editor of The Black Sash.

"One by one the lights of Freedom were going out all over Europe" . . . The British Army was stranded on the beaches of Dunkirk with the Nazi hordes at England's back door—a desperate situation when the King called his people everywhere to prayer. "More wonders are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of."

There can be no doubt that many prayers have already been said, but we could make it a definite part of our silent and thoughtful vigil . . . thus acknowledging "that of ourselves we can do nothing."

We could pray for Parliament . . .

"Prosper and set forward with Thy blessing all that is Right in their Councils, frustrate all that is wrong," and expect another

MIRACLE.

WOMEN AWARE

THE present generation of South African women has an education and a vote. Since 1930 they have been politically effective. Since May, 1955,

they have been politically conscious.

If we are adult enough to bear straight thinking it should now be the aim of every woman in this non-party political group to examine the QUALITY of the man for whom she is going to cast her vote (whether he be Nationalist, United Party, Labour, Conservative or Liberal) and if he be a man of integrity, whose past history promises future good, she should vote for him, confident that he will do well by his country. If he be lacking in integrity, or any quality necessary to those who guide our destinies; if past history shows only personal greed, ambition or even failure; she should make it her business to demand, and to encourage all her friends to demand, his withdrawal as a candidate.

If we can be bothered to assess the quality of a piece of meat, scrutinise the fruit and vegetables offered us for sale, keep a careful eye on food adulteration, surely we can keep a careful check on those on whom our whole way of life will depend—and what is more important, on whom our children's hope of national honour and liberty will

depend?

COMPETITION

READERS have responded enthusiastically to my invitation to them last week to criticise the Tomlinson report in the pungent style of Oliver Walker, dramatic critic of The Star.

Picked at random from the many contributions to my little competition is this one from Mr. R. D.

Kneen, Pretoria:-

OVERTURE TO THE ELECTORATE

There was a merry scene in the Assembly today as the parliamentary orchestra gathered under the baton of Doctor Conradie to perform Professor Tomlinson's new arrangement of the well worn but celebrated Hertzog work "Segregation".

The wind instruments introduced the work dominated by Doctor Verwoerd, who was blowing lustily on his own personal trumpet. The second movement was performed "piano" by the United Party strings with Mr. Strauss at the cello harmonizing sweetly with the member for Constantia at second fiddle.

The Prime Minister, coming in to the rescue, abandoned the oboe, which he usually plays on these occasions, and seized the piccolo; but having apparently mislaid his copy of the score found himself performing the theme of his reply to the No Confidence Debate.

During the finale, a crashing drum and cymbal performance by the back-benchers, the composer wearing a brown suit and a puzzled frown, slipped out to complete his Opus No. 2 the Smallholding

Rhapsody.

It is rumoured that the trustees of the orchestra are considering an all-round rise in salaries, which it is hoped will attract more talented performers when positions are re-advertised in 1958.

(By courtesy of The Star, from "Stoep Talk").



WE SHALL NOT FORGET

KIMBERLEY NUUSBRIEF

Vrydag die 13de April 1956, om 6.25 vm., het 12 van ons Swart Serp lede mnr. Serfontein ontmoet; hy het eg verbaas gelyk om so vroeg in die môre ontmoet te word.

Nadat ons hom die straat af gevolg het, is ons na Boshof, 30 myl van Kimberley af, waar mnr. Serfontein die Boshof tentoonstelling geopen het. Die hele môre daar het ons niks van hom gesien nie, maar met die middagete het ons weer ons posisie ingeneem by die hek. Toe sy kar by die hek kom, kon hy nie anders as om na ons te kyk nie, want die hek moes oopgemaak word, en wat nog meer is hy het een van die dames herken wat die môre op die stasie was. Ons kon hom feitlik hoor dink "Is julle ook alweer hier!"

OUR FIRST EDITORIAL

We have been asked by the Cape Eastern Region to repeat, for the benefit of all those Black Sash members who have not seen the first edition of our Newsletter a part of the Editorial in which we clearly stated for the first time the policy and aims of the Black Sash. Remembering, also, the number of our members in Natal who have not seen Issue I and who enquired after it eagerly, we feel that reprinting the Editorial will be useful.

IN the middle of November a meeting of the Black Sash was held in Johannesburg, at which the policy and aims of the Newsletter were discussed. The following principles of policy were agreed upon:—

- The League is a pressure group, to be used for the restoration and encouragement of political morality and the preservation of Constitutional Government.
- 2. The League wants to make people realise their personal responsibilities in a democracy.
- 3. The League wishes to inform its members on political matters.
- The League wishes to draw the two sections of the European population together.
- The League is a bilingual group and wishes to encourage bilingualism.
- 6. The League wishes to disseminate news about its activities.

The mission of the Newsletter is thus a crusade, and it is in a crusading spirit that we hope to conduct it. A certain amount of moral indignation may be expected from us, and it will be justifiable. We are out to convince, not only our members, who know it already, but hundreds of thousands outside our ranks that the present Government is, first and foremost, committing a grave spiritual offence against the soul of South Africa and that the country's honour is being besmirched. Constitution is something much more than words written down on a piece of paper. It was written by some of the wisest and greatest men in our history, not infallible, indeed, but endowed with the rare gift of sincerity. They had been through a very dark valley, and they strove to ensure that their country should be spared that agony again. Their object was "Strength Through Unity."

And now their work is, coldly and deliberately, being undone, not by the will of the people of South Africa, but by the leaders of the minority party bent on maintaining themselves in power at all costs. It is this degrading cynicism in the political life of our country that we must fight with all our strength.

But indignation, uninformed, is not always enough. We hope to supply our readers with facts and arguments which will demonstrate, not only the immorality of the Government's present course, but the folly of it, from the point of view of the country's material welfare and its danger in a divided world.

The name THE BLACK SASH was inevitable. For one South African who knows the formal title of the League there are thousands who have heard of the Black Sash Women. It is an honourable name. The Newsletter will try to uphold their ideals.

Minority Groups

IF we accept as true what so many South Africans of both tongues and differing political views accept unquestioningly—that the removal of the Coloureds to a SEPARATE ROLL IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY to the improvement of Black-White relationships in South Africa; we are faced with this:—

they are CITIZENS, they are SOUTH AFRICANS,

they have the VOTE, they are a MINORITY,

they can be used by any MAJORITY in which ever way it pleases, because we have allowed it.

IF we accept that women are CITIZENS,

SOUTH AFRICANS, have the VOTE,

and any majority government feels that it is absolutely NECESSARY for the "improvement" of conditions in South Africa that they should be put on a separate roll or DENIED any voting rights at all—

WE HAVE GIVEN THAT GOVERNMENT THE RIGHT TO DO AS IT WISHES WITH US BECAUSE WE GAVE IT THE RIGHT TO DO SO WITH ANOTHER MINORITY GROUP — THE COLOUREDS.

HE WHO UNDERTAKES THE DEFENCE OF ANOTHER FREQUENTLY SAVES HIMSELF.

GIFT FROM ABROAD!

THE Black Sash movement's "fanmail" recently included a letter from an admirer on the other side of the Atlantic, and in addition to the usual congratulations and praise of the Sashers' activities it contained a hatpin.

The writer, an elderly woman living in Canada, said she had read in an international news magazine about the incident outside the Union Houses of Parliament on 15th February, when several Black Sash women, keeping an all-night protest, were jabbed from behind with a hatpin by a young hooligan.

She greatly admired what the Sashers were doing in their campaign of protest, she said, and added: "I am enclosing my hatpin, which I hope you will put to good use if this sort of thing happens again."

The letter, which was addressed to "Women's Defence League, Union of South Africa," was at first delivered to the Defence Department in Pretoria.

There it was re-addressed to the Women's Defence of the Constitution League, in Johannesburg, and the letter, with its potentially lethal contents, arrived safely at its destination.

BAD MANNERS

THIS letter is reprinted from the Daily Dispatch, East London:

To the Editor, Daily Dispatch.

Sir,—Having been in Queenstown when the Black Sash women met Mr. Erasmus, I was able to see the Jeugbond in action against them. Never have I seen such rude behaviour by young people and children. One's first reaction was, of course, anger that they could treat their elders in so unseemly a fashion, but that quickly gave place to a feeling of sincere pity for them.

The blame lay entirely on the older people, women who joined their linked chain, and men who urged them on to still further rude and boisterous jeers and laughter. The young folk themselves were only their tools, and were just enjoying a lark, their unity being their strength.

Their idea of a guard of honour to protect their Ministers from the dignity of the Black Sash women, allowed for smoking among the youths, and the chewing of peanuts.

One felt these little girls and boys had the makings of fine citizens, given the right environment and training, but they are being taught hatred, bad manners and discourtesy. They have our very real sympathy and pity.

The girls wore "Voortrekker" dresses. Does the Jeughond realise that this costume is now being degraded to a very low level on these occasions? I am sure all South Africans have regarded the Voortrekker women with respect for their heroic

effort and one can only think that these same women would weep with despair could they see this young generation dressed in that fashion of long ago, and bringing it to such utter contempt and ridicule.

If these children must be roped in by their elders, to protect their Ministers from their own conscience, one would think the Jeugbond would dress them in some more martial clothing, so that their ancestors and their emblematic dress could still be remembered with respect.

The Black Sash women are opening the eyes of South African people to the decay that has been introduced by the fanatics of our country.—I am, etc.,

EYE WITNESS.

FANTASIE EN FEIT

FANTASIE:

Die gedurige refrein wat van politieke platforms en private gesprekke gehoor word: "Sal jy jou suster of dogter met 'n naturel wil sien trou, of jou kinders op dieselfde skoolbanke as Kleurlinge sien sit?"

FEIT:

As antwoord op hierdie fantasie haal ons aan uit Dr. Keet se boek "Suid-Afrika—Waarhhen?" Op bladsy 62 sê Dr. Keet: "Hierdie sterk kleurgevoel word dan ook as een van die kragtigste argumente gebruik om die noodsaaklikheid van apartheidsmaatreëls te bepleit; sonder apartheid sou daar gedurig wrywing en botsing tussen blank en nie-blank ont-Maar vreemd genoeg, wanneer bloedverstaan. menging of ondertrouery as 'n dreigende gevaar gesien word, word veronderstel dat die kleurgevoel en alles wat daarmee saamhang, skielik sal verdwyn, en dat daar 'n algemene kleurvermenging sal plaasvind. Waarom dit in die een geval wrywing en twis veroorsaak en in die ander tot bloed- en kleurvermenging moet lei, word nie gesê nie. Feit is dat die hele geskiedenis van die blankes in Suid-Afrika die laaste bewering loënstraf. By die blankes is sodanige neiging nie te bespeur nie, met uitsondering van minder beskaafde enkelinge wat hulle by die nie-blankes meer tuis voel; en vir die nie-blankes lê daar nog 'n baie lang pad voor, voordat hulle die staat bereik het waarin hulle op gelyke voet met die blankes sal kan staan en alle kleurvooroordeel oorwin sal . . . Daar bestaan dus geen grond vir die vrees dat die blanke bevolking van Suid-Afrika binne voorsienbare tyd sy identiteit sal moet prysgee as dit nie deur wetgewing verhinder word nie. In elk geval is dit 'n uiters onredelike veronderstelling om te meen dat die betoning van gewone billikheid en vriendelikheid, die erkenning en respektering van die persoonlikheid van watter minderbedeelde of minderbevoorregte mens ook al, noodwendig tot sosiale intimiteit of ondertrouery moet lei."

See that you are on the VOTERS' ROLL

WHAT DO YOU DO ABOUT IT?

To the Editor of The Black Sash.

ARE you indifferent when your bus fares are raised or the charges for electricity are increased? Do you do anything about it beyond grumbling? Maybe you are one of the many people who say they "cannot be bothered with municipal elections, municipal affairs are so finicky." If we do take up that attitude, then we have no one but ourselves to blame for the higher fares and electricity charges, or for any of the other things in municipal matters that we do not like.

It is true that town councils do not pass Senate Acts and cannot bring about a republic or deal with other Union-wide burning questions, such as those which brought the Black Sash movement into being. The actions of your town council, however, affect your daily life in the immediate present much more closely than do even the very serious inroads of Parliament on your liberties. I do not suggest that you should cease for a moment to take the keenest interest in fighting to prevent those inroads, far from it, but I do want to show you that it is very important that you should use your power to see that the town's municipal affairs are properly conducted in your interest.

Let us look at what town councils can and do. do. Their first great duty is to safeguard our health. A pure water supply is a prime need. So, too, is good, wholesome milk. It is your town council which is responsible for seeing that both are pure. So also with meat, bread and other foodstuffs. The council's inspectors must keep watch to prevent contamination and also to see that you are not cheated through the use of false weights and measures. Infectious diseases must be dealt with urgently and the necessary quarantine imposed. Are those things too "finicky" for you to be interested in them?

So far you have heard of only a few health services which a town council has to attend to. When people live together in towns there are many things they need. They must have roads and transport, houses and light and water, drainage and sewerage or other forms of sanitary service, fire protection, welfare work, and recreation grounds, and many other services. These things call for businesslike management and care. Unless you, as voters, elect as councillors men and women of integrity and ability to see that the town's affairs are properly carried on, there may be inefficiency in the management of them, and great waste of the money you contribute to the cost of running the town. There may also be graft and corruption in the administration of a council. Such things have not been unknown in South Africa.

A town council cannot provide any of those services I have mentioned without funds to pay for them. It gets those funds from you and the other residents of the town. So you are directly interested in seeing that the council's revenue is properly used and not wasted. You pay for the upkeep of the town and its services in a number of different ways. You pay what may be called direct taxes, such as

assessment rates and motor car and other licences, and you pay tram and bus fares and charges for water, light, and sanitary services. For water and light in Johannesburg the consumers are charged more than the cost to the council and so they are taxed quite a considerable amount in that way without their knowing it. In this way assessment rates are lower than they should be and owners of vacant land and absentee landowners, who, as such, are not consumers of water and light, escape their just share of the cost of running the town.

Town councils have the power to decide what form the rates should take. Rates may be levied either on the value of the land or on the value of improvements on it, or on both together. In Johannesburg, and some twenty-five other towns, mostly in the Transvaal, the rates are levied on the value of the land excluding the value of buildings and other improvements on it. In Cape Town and Port Elizabeth both land and buildings are rated equally, while Durban and many other towns have a lower rate on buildings than on land. This is a most important matter for the voter to consider. When you vote for a councillor who supports a rate on buildings you are voting to make building more expensive and rents higher, whereas if you help to elect a councillor who will exempt buildings from rates and levy them on the site value of land only, you are helping to keep down the cost of living and rents. It is the services which the town provides which make most of the value of the land in the town and it is only right and just that at least a part of that value should be available to pay for those services.

Is it not, therefore, of the greatest importance that you should take a keen and active interest in municipal affairs? If you do not take the trouble to vote and do your best to keep your representative up to scratch between elections, you are neglecting your own interests, and have no one else but yourself to blame when they are not looked after.

F. A. W. LUCAS.

Franklin and Civil Liberties

We are indebted to the monthly bulletin of the American Civil Liberties Union, "Civil Liberties," for the following quotations from Benjamin Franklin, whose 250th anniversary is being celebrated this year:

"Whoever would overthrow the liberty of a nation must begin by subduing the freeness of speech—a thing terrible to public traitors.

"They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.

"Where liberty dwells, there is my country."

WITH ACKNOWLEDGMENTS TO CIVIL RIGHTS LEAGUE.

MEET THE BLACK SASH

Some Members of the Pretoria Regional Executive



MRS. NELL VON GEUSAU, Chairman of the Pretoria Regional Executive, was born in Holland, but has spent most of her life in South Africa. During the war she was Provincial Commandant of the S.A.W.A.S. of the Transvaal and the Protectorates. At General Smuts' request she started "Food Parcels For Britain". In 1948 Mrs. von Geusau went to England to bring back immigrants under the Government scheme. She joined the Black Sash at the very beginning.



MRS. LANG, Vice-Chairman of the Pretoria Region, is a daughter of Sir John Fraser. She spent her girlhood in Bloemfontein during the Anglo-Boer War. She led an active life for thirty-one years as the wife of a headmaster. Mrs. Lang took part in the Black Sash march to the Union Buildings and since then has been a firm adherent. She has a family of six.



MRS. JEANETTE RADE-MEYER is on the Executive of the Pretoria Region. She was at school at the Pretoria Girls' High School, and from there went to Chelsea, London, to train in Physical Culture. She is a great help in training young hockey enthusiasts. She has a grown-up daughter.

Four Office-bearers of Border Region



MRS. MARTIN.

MRS. JESSIE MARTIN, indefatigable Newsletter correspondent for the Border, was born in London, educated in France and in England. Went to France with the British Red Cross Society and drove lorries and ambulances for Red Cross during World War I. Married, and came out to South Africa with her husband in 1921 to farm. Later Mr. Martin went into business. Has two delightful daughters. Mrs. Martin says, "I have only been a very ordinary housewife, have never been on a committee before and have done nothing in the least spectacular since my marriage," all of which is belied by her current activities.

MRS. DOROTHY KIPLING was born and educated in Kimberley. Worked in a clerical capacity until her marriage. She lived in Pretoria until 1947, when the family moved to East London. Mother of two daughters, she took little interest in politics until the petitions to the Governor General and Mr. Strydom were started. She became a foundation member of the East London branch of the Black Sash, travelled to Pretoria to join the historic Protest March to the Union Buildings and has been an energetic and inspiring member ever since.



MRS. KIPLING.



Four of the eleven women who held a vigil outside the Post Office, Howick, in February. They are (Left to Right) Mrs. E. M. McEwen, grand-daughter of the Hon. C. J. Smythe, a member of the National Convention; Mrs. M. E. Soutar, daughter of the Hon. C. J. Smythe; Miss Betty Sutton, daughter of Sir George Sutton, President of the Legislative Council; Mrs. W. M. Hyslop, daughter-in-law of Sir Thomas Hyslop, a member of the Natal Convention at the time of Union (1908).

BORDER REGION (Continued)



MRS. CURRY.

MRS. DAPHNE CURRY (Chair). Born in Durban and educated at Durban Girls' High. Continued her music studies after leaving school and taught the piano until her marriage. Has four children ranging in age from 27 to 7. Mrs. Curry took up flying in 1939 and took her pilot's license in East London. During the war served as dental nurse at Air Schools. Has represented Natal and Border at swimming and Border and Eastern Province at tennis. Has for many years taken an active part in work for the United Party and has been Chairman of the Black Sash since its inception on the Border.

MRS. RUBY SPENCE, Secretary for Border Region, was educated at Stutterheim High School and then went into business. She signed on as a Transport Driver in the W.A.A.S. during the war, is married and has two school-going children.



MRS. SPENCE.

THREADS FROM THE SASH

A WRITER from PIETERMARITZBURG says "When one is nearing the half-century mark and knows just how rusty the old brain has become, it is almost with dismay that one grasps at the ambitious programme of the Black Sash. Then the eternal ray of hope that is with all of us, bursts out and we feel that we CAN and we MUST tackle the job of educating ourselves to a better working knowledge of how our municipal, provincial and government bodies work."

AT GRAVELOTTE, during a first vigil in January, young Nationalists brought out a large vierkleur, and with many ribald jests debated how they would use it to make a mock of the women. Burghers of the old Transvaal Republic would have been filled with anger to see young louts so mishandle their flag.

A DELEGATE from PRETORIA, writing to Mrs. Foley after the Conference, spoke of her inspired leadership and "the high standard of policy and tone of the whole conference." She added: "There is no doubt this movement has brought the cream of South African womanhood together, and this to me is enough proof and encouragement that we are going to win. We shall yet regain that democratic way of life and decency, cost what it may."

THE Kloof-Gillitts-Hill-Crest-Botha's Hill Branch has formerly adopted the title of "The Highway Branch". This has a nice swashbuckling ring to it, and we hope it will live up to its new name! Mrs. Sinclair, Central Executive Chair, addressed a meeting of 80 of their women recently at an old Natal homestead beyond Hill Crest. This lovely old house (which stood through two Zulu wars in 1879) was a singularly appropriate setting for the call for a new crusading spirit in this year of dishonour.

WITBANK is organising a weekly morning tea for members from the various mines round about, at which interesting Black Sash matters will be discussed. They also intend to hold a Black Rose Day on 2nd June. Good luck to both efforts, Witbank.

I HAVE just read an excellent article in the May Forum on the Tomlinson Report. I would like to suggest to those members who feel the need for enlightenment that they read the said article. It will amply repay the effort!

OVERHEARD in a Transvaal School.—Teacher to child: "If you do that you'll be made to wear a black sash and stand outside the door. Just think how terrible that will be!"

It is a little sad to report how often we hear from Black Sash women, especially in country districts,

that their children are being victimised. Have we indeed and in truth come to this—that teachers think more of their politics than their pupils?

I LEARN on good authority that Miss Maud Kirsh, at present travelling in England, has been asked to speak on the Black Sash at the Commonwealth League.

M ISS MARJORIE JUTA, one of the earliest members of the Black Sash in Pretoria, has been asked to speak over the B.B.C. on their programme entitled "In Town Tonight" on a Saturday. Readers please note.

PORT ELIZABETH, whose Regional report in this issue gives the magnificent tally of their activities, now adds SOMERSET EAST, ADDO and SALEM as separate branches, and FORT BEAUFORT-ADELAIDE as a combined branch. Meetings at GEORGE, PLETTENBURG BAY and KRAGGA-KAMMA will, they hope, result in further branches being formed. I think the operative words are "Good Show!"

A MEMBER of the ALEXANDRIA branch writes about the STORM'S RIVER Black Sashing: "I crawled out of bed at 4 a.m. in the darkness and cold after a sleepless night, to pick up the Alexandria contingent for the 170-mile drive to Storm's River to 'welcome' Mr. Schoeman and Mr. Sauer. Our carload of five, aged from 22 to 65 years, did not murmur, although we got home at 5 that evening, dead beat after standing one-and-a-half hours in the rain at Storm's River, and having to change a punctured tyre on the way back. I, for one, felt a deep spiritual satisfaction before which mere physical discomfort paled. Instead of sitting at home talking about 'injustice' and 'tyranny' we were doing something at last to combat the evils which were threatening our country."

M ISS MONICA PEARSON, of the Six Point Group in London, which exists to fight for equal rights for women, writes to Mrs. Foley: "I have been asked to convey to you our heartfelt admiration for the courageous and splendid work of the Women's Defence of the Constitution League . . . We are naturally interested in all achievements of women, particularly in a campaign such as yours which has been characterised by such initiative, endurance and moral courage." She sends a message expressing sympathy and appreciation and warmest wishes for success.

WE hear that one of the most progressive Black Sash branches in the Transvaal is that of RUS-TENBURG. We have always felt that the Platteland towns could teach the cities a thing or two, and now we know.

NEWS FROM THE BRANCHES

NELSPRUIT

ON the 14th of April we held a "braaivleis" on the farm of our Chair, Mrs. Charles Hull, to raise funds for our Nelspruit branch. Approximately a hundred people attended and we made a nett profit of £39 11s. 8d.

It was a most pleasant evening and everyone thoroughly enjoyed themselves, as it was the first time Black Sash members had been able to meet

as families.

Mr. de Villiers, the Editor of the "Lowveld Leader", made a most moving speech entitled "Mothers and Sons", in which he stressed the vital importance of a mother's teaching to her children; as he put it "it is what mothers think to-day, and do with that thinking, that may fairly be said to be the shape of the world tomorrow."

The evening ended with dancing on the stoep.

ALEXANDRIA

THE Minister who recently visited Storms River must have been more than usually perturbed at the sight of the rows of Black Sashers, this time standing quietly in the pouring rain. There were 54 women taking part altogether, many of them having had to travel 120 miles or more on that cold, wet morning. Some had risen as early as 4.30 a.m. They came from as far afield as Salem, Alexandria, Grahamstown, Uitenhage, Knysna, George, Redhouse, Greenbushes, Witteklip, Thornhill, Walmer Central and Port Elizabeth.

The turn-out created a deep impression. Mr. Schoeman and his wife and Mr. Sauer and his wife were there. The Ministers drove through the ranks

no less than four times.

RANDFONTEIN

ON Tuesday, 22nd May, the Randfontein branch held a public meeting. The speakers were Mrs. M. Kealton and Mrs. P. Bond. The unique feature of this meeting was that it was combined with a musical evening, and there was an audience of more than 80 people. Mrs. Spears and her committee are to be congratulated on producing a new idea. There is nothing incongruous in combining politics with entertainment, either musical evenings, braaivleis, or any other type of get-together.

Other branches, particularly country ones where members have to travel great distances and are a bit chary of using their petrol unless they feel they are going to get their money's worth, might find this idea, or a variation thereof, worth adopting.

ROODEPOORT

WE are holding regular monthly meetings in the homes of various members. To suit those members who work, the meetings are held in the evenings. The purpose of the meetings is primarily to keep the members informed about the activities of the movement, and to try to educate ourselves in political matters (about which many of us feel woefully ignorant). We have already studied the three lectures given to the Black Sash in Johannesburg and published in the Forum.

We appreciate the inspiration brought to us by visiting speakers. Mrs. Dietrich was our first guest speaker. After her very clear, well-informed talk we all felt we knew far better what the Black Sash actually stood for. Mrs. Dora Hill spoke to a full meeting, and gave us a vivid impression of the Cape Town Convoy. At another meeting Mrs. Blaine, Mrs. Pratt-Johnson and Mrs. Fleisher answered many questions put to them by the members.

We have taken part in vigils and a convoy on the West Rand, and it is felt that we made a considerable impression on the local community.

THREADS (Continued)

LOOKING through the correspondence of the last four months I find the same developing pattern in all regions, from sympathetic but hesitant feeling, to a vigorous and growing enthusiasm. This augurs well for the future.

A N enthusiastic member says: "When you live in the country, especially on a mine, you tend to lose heart. And to me, the fellowship of the League is like a candle set in a window at night, and I don't want it to burn out."

FROM RONDEBOSCH a reader who is unable to take an active part in Black Sashing writes: "I should like to say how much I enjoy reading the monthly Newsletter, and I am lost in admiration of the wonderful work being done all over the country, and especially in small branches where the steadfast few must bear the heat and burden of the day." We agree most wholeheartedly with this writer's accolade to the small country branches.

WITBANK Chair writes: "I have had copies made of your statement of policy of the Black Sash, and am distributing them to all members and interested people. Afrikaans copies will be sent to our leading Nationalists as well as to Afrikaans speaking sympathisers." Thank you, Witbank, for an excellent idea. We hope other regions will follow suit.

KIMBERLEY, which seldom has the opportunity to Black Sash, was soberly delighted to meet the Minister of Agriculture during his recent visit there. We would like to have more details of this historic occasion, Kimberley!

*

WE are delighted to hear that in the WATERBERG area women standing on Black Sash duty have been greeted not only with courtesy but with sympathy by many Afrikaans-speaking members of their community. We could wish that this were the case in the WELKOM and MIDDELBURG, Cape, areas.

THE DURBANVILLE branch has found that informal meetings to which husbands are invited, are proving very successful. They are convinced that the more they can interest husbands in the Black Sash the sooner the seemingly greatest obstacle in the way of so many women joining would be removed.

VOORUITSIGTE VIR DIE TOEKOMS

deur

PROF. A. M. KEPPEL-JONES

(Die volgende is 'n vertaling van prof. Keppel-Jones se bydrae tot 'n simposium deur die Instituut in Durban gehou op 4 Januarie 1956)

"Ons ag die waarhede as van selfsprekend dat alle mense gelyk geskape is, dat hulle deur hulle Skepper begiftig is met sekere onvervreembare Regte soos Lewe, Vryheid en die strewe na Geluk. Om hierdie regte te verseker, word Regerings onder die Mense ingestel wat hulle wettige magte met die toestemming van diegene kry wat geregeer word. Wanneer enige Vorm van Regering nie dié doel nastreef nie, is dit die Reg van die Volk om dit te verander of af te skaf . . ."

Ek haal hierdie bekende woorde aan omdat dit die sluitsteen van moderne geskiedenis is. In die byna twee eeue wat verloop het sedert dié gedagtes die eerste keer uitgespreek is, het hulle meeste van die gemeenskappe in die wêreld wat deur bevoorregte heersersklasse of deur mense van 'n vreemde ras geregeer is, laat ontplof. Daardie ontploffings duur voort. Maar vandag se gebeurtenisse in Asië en Afrika toon aan dat die mees ontvlambare materiaal tans onder die nie-blanke bevolking te vinde is wat deur mense van die blanke ras regeer en oorheers word.

Die implikasies daarvan vir Suid-Afrika word deur vérsiende manne van alle politieke partye besef. Mnr. J. D. du P. Basson (N.P., Namib) het bv. tydens die vorige sitting in die Parlement verklaar dat geen ras, seksie of groep mens van enige grootte vir 'n langdurige tyd onderwerp kan word nie. Alleen 'n super-optimis, het hy gesê, kan glo dat die ambisies van die Naturelle vir 'n onbepaalde tyd onderdruk kan word. Hy het ook daarop gewys dat die tydperk van kolonialisme verby is en dat die nieblanke volke onafhanklik begin raak en hulle merk op die wêreldtoneel begin maak.

Met die oog op dié toestand is daar-soos Professor Hoernlé lankal gesê het—drie moontlike rigtings wat Suid-Afrika kan volg. Ons baie rasse woon deurmekaar in dieselfde gebied en word steeds meer onderling afhanklik in dieselfde ekonomie. beleid wat Suid-Afrika tradisioneel toegepas hetonvolledig in die verlede en tans meer drasties-is om hierdie maatskappy streng in kastes te verdeel met al die mag in die hande van die blanke kaste gekonsentreer, of liewer-om voort te gaan met die Indiërterme-in die hande van een van die onderkastes van daardie kaste. Dit is die tradisionele weg. Dit word nou nog gevolg en dit kan alleen tot 'n felle einde lei. Ons weet almal wat die beperkings daarvan is. Watter geringe konsessies ook al gemaak word in die rigting van plaaslike selfbestuur aan stamgroepe in die Reserwes, bestaan daar geen vooruitsig op enige konsessie deur die blankes aan die nie-blankes in hulle midde ten opsigte van enige aandeel in die werklike politieke mag nie. Namate dit duideliker word dat geen konsessies gemaak sal word nie, sal hierdie besef—soos wat altyd in sodanige gevalle gebeur—die uitwerking op die nie-blankes hê dat dit hulle tot die uiterste rigtings sal dryf. Die rigtings is Kommunisme en 'n ontoegeeflike Naturelle-nasionalisme. Indien ons lering kan put uit die gebeure in Asië, sal een daarvan moontlik agter die ander skuil Die ontwikkeling sal in iedere geval die blankes nog onwilliger maak om enige konsessies toe te staan. Spanninge sal op dié manier opgebou word wat nooit verlig kan word nie. Die spanning sal voortduur totdat die blanke bevolking in die een of ander moeilikheid beland, waarskynlik op die terrein van buitelandse betrekkinge, wanneer die ou regime gewelddadig tot 'n val gebring sal word.

Almal wat helder dink, besef dat daar twee (en net twee) moontlike rigtings is waardeur die ramp vermy kan word. Die een is algehele gebiedskeiding en die ander die algehele integrasie van die rasse. Die vraag wat ons onsself nou afvra is wat die kanse is dat een van die twee rigtings nagevolg sal word. Baie van diegene wat glo aan integrasie meen dat die toenemende ekonomiese onderlinge afhanklikheid van die rasse 'n stap in dié rigting is en eventueel tot hulle integrasie in alle opsigte sal lei in weerwil daarvan dat die regering 'n teenoorgestelde rigting inslaan. Die hoop is 'n illusie.

Die groei van die kastestelsel met sy verskansings en taboe's maak dit vir die blanke moeilik om hom 'n maatskappy sonder sodanige verskansings voor te stel. Apartheid skep gevestigde belange in die werk, besittings en mag, en hoe meer sodanige belange geskep word, hoe minder waarskynlik word dit dat die blankes gewillig sou wees om enige van die maatskaplike of politieke skeidsmure af te breek al sou daar ook hegte ekonomiese integrasie tussen die rasse wees. Dit is taamlik duidelik dat die blanke kiesers tans meer rassebewus is as wat ooit tevore in die Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis die geval was. 'n Vrywillige afstanddoening van die stelsel van kleurslagbome kan myns insiens uitgesluit word.

Wat nou van die oorblywende alternatief—algehele gebiedskeiding—'n reëling waarvolgens die nieblankes volle burgerregte en onafhanklikheid in hulle "eie gebiede" kan geniet? U weet wat die moeilikhede is wat die rigting oplewer: die moeilikheid van verwydering van die nie-blankes uit die nywerheidsekonomie van die "blanke" gebiede; van vervanging van die nie-blanke arbeidskragte deur blankes; van gebied wat gevind moet word wat nodig is vir die toepassing van die skema. Die kernvraag is of die moeilikhede oorbrug kan word.

Ons kan aanneem dat indien dit moontlik is om dit te oorbrug, die huidige Regering dit sal doen aangesien hy verbind is tot dié oplossing van die probleem. Laat ons dan let op 'n paar onlangse verklarings van regeringskant oor die saak. Volgens mnr. De Wet Nel sal die integrasie van nie-blankes in die blanke ekonomie nog twintig jaar lank toeneem voordat die proses verander kan word. Dr. Verwoerd het insgelyks verklaar dat dit dalk twintig

APATHY

IT is mainly in the towns that we encounter the deadly disease of political apathy. There are a number of reasons for this-some more understandable and less reprehensible than others. large towns English-speaking people tend to live in large numbers in the same areas, which often become uncontested Parliamentary constituencies. Many of them have therefore not had to exercise a vote for many years and their interest in politics, if not lost, is dormant. They will say, if asked, that they value a democratic way of life, but they take it entirely for granted. So wrapped up are they in their comfortable existence that they seem unaware of the signals that spell danger to democracy—the signals that should, in a political sense, change them from drones to workers.

This does not mean that they should become fanatical in their beliefs: extremes are always undesirable; but they should at least be actively interested in political affairs and try to give help where it is needed. It is perhaps banal to say that "the price of freedom is eternal vigilance," but few people realise the deep significance of this statement to everyone living in a democracy. Democratic government demands of its citizens, and particularly of its educated and thinking citizens, the duty of interesting themselves in the politics of their country.

The actions of the Government must be carefully watched: its legislative acts should be continually scrutinised to see that they do not threaten any of our precious liberties. The undemocratic legislation placed on the statute book during the last few years is as much the fault of the politically apathetic as

it is the responsibility of the fanatics who have placed it there. The legislators may be criticised for measures resulting in the decline of our liberties, but criticism should fall equally on those who have remained passive in the face of freedom-destroying legislation.

This type of apathy is to a certain extent understandable, although not forgivable, but there is another type equally prevalent and completely reprehensible, namely that shewn by people who value their prosperity and comfort above all other considerations. Cushioned by money from the impact of political events, their main interest seems to lie in the social round. When invited to take an intelligent interest in politics, they assert that they are "too busy". When invited to protest against actions of the Government, they are afraid that their professions or businesses may suffer. They seem blind to the fact that if the Government's actions endanger the stability of the community, their much-vaunted prosperity will go. They accept all the amenities and advantages that democracy has to offer and, politically, give nothing in return. The privileges they enjoy they take with both hands; the obligations they refuse to recognise.

Such people are the borers, the white-ants that eat away the healthy foundations of a democratic society. Though none of us can escape the guilt of this charge in the past, those who remain indifferent to the peril of our country today will stand before the bar of the future convicted of criminal negligence.

D.H.

VOORUITSIGTE VIR DIE TOEKOMS (Vervolg)

jaar sal neem om die instroming van Naturelle na die Rand te beëindig. Hy stel die stigting van twee nuwe Naturellestede in daardie gebied in die vooruitsig wat elk 2½-maal die grootte van Johannesburg sal wees. Hy het ook (in Februarie 1955) gesê dat niemand in enige stadium enige verlies sal ly weens die toepassing van die apartheidsbeleid nie. Saam geneem, beteken die twee verklarings dat daar nog twintig jaar lank geen werklike skeiding van die rasse sal wees nie. In daardie tydperk sal apartheid bloot plaaslik toegepas word; dit sal niks meer bly as die skeidings van 'n kaste-maatskappy nie. En vir sover dit die finale doelstelling betref, is dit reeds duidelik dat die regering afgesien het van die gedagte aan 'n onafhanklike "Bantustan" wat te gevaarlik sou wees. Bantustan sal sy eie leër en sy eie Russiese gesantskap hê.

Wel, twintig jaar is meer as lank genoeg om onherstelbare skade aan te rig. Die ontsegging van regte vir so 'n tydperk aan nie-blankes wat onder blanke heerskappy leef en werk, sal 'n gemeenskap lewer wat nooit sal toestem om sy lot met die blankes te deel nie. En die integrasie van die rasse in 'n gesamentlike nywerheidsekonomie vir die tydperk sal algehele gebiedskeiding vanselfsprekend nog meer onmoontlik maak as wat dit vandag is.

Die versuim om een of ander van die twee weë te volg, beteken dat ons op ons huidige weg sal voortgaan. Die blanke bevolking sal 'n rol speel wat soortgelyk is aan dié van die blanke koloniste van Haiti, of die krygsmanne van Sparta, en dit sal tot 'n soortgelyke einde kom. Maar die tye is nou anders en daar is faktore aan die werk wat nie in Haiti of in Sparta gegeld het nie, naamlik die politieke magte van die uiterste linksgesindes. Nog twintig jaar van die huidige toestande sal van die nie-blankes die buigsame instrumente van dié magte maak. Vir blank Suid-Afrika is die vooruitsig natuurlik troosteloos. Maar ek dink dat dit ook troosteloos is vir swart Suid-Afrika wat oorgelewer word in die hande van 'n ander soort tirannie. Alleen die Kommuniste kan enige troos put uit die draketande wat ons gesaai het en so vlytig benat.

SUID-AFRIKA—WAARHEEN?

DIT moet nie vergeet word nie dat ons die Christendom met ywer kan preek, terwyl ons dade gedurig daarteen stry. Dan sal die verwyt verneem word, dat ons prediking baie mooi is, maar dat ons dade so luid spreek dat ons woorde nie gehoor kan word nie . . . As daar een ding seker is, dan is dit dat die kommunisme onder die nieblankes nooit deur ons woorde, hoe mooi dit ook mag wees, kan besweer word nie . . ."

—Uit "Suid-Afrika—Waarheen?" deur Ds. B. B. Keet.

REGIONAL REPORTS

CAPE WESTERN

The four and a half months since the last Conference in Port Elizabeth have been extremely active ones for our Region.

We now have a permanent office and have found it necessary to employ a part-time paid Secretary.

ACTIVITIES

Parliament was opened on 13th January with a large Demonstration around the House, and also at various focal points in and around the City. From that date a regular vigil of four was maintained outside the Houses of Parliament until the temporary cessation of standing on 21st March. There is no need for me to say much about the Convoy in mid-February, as all the Regions were represented. I think we all look back on that time as a most wonderful experience, and a time at which the unity of our purpose brought us together in friendship and understanding.

DEMONSTRATIONS.

Our next big Demonstration was on the night when the South Africa Act Amendment Bill was finally passed. 400 women turned out at very short notice and stood double-ranked on either side of Parliament Street from 4.45 until the vote was taken and members left the House. Haunts and vigils ceased on 21st March as a result of legal advice taken after the Senate Act became sub-judice. We started again in full force when Parliament reassembled on 10th April with a big stand outside the House, and the regular vigil started thereafter. We also held on 10th April a Black Rose Day, and 10,000 roses (all made by members) were given away in Cape Town and the suburbs, and also in several country towns. The Cape Town public showed great apathy and self-consciousness over wearing the roses and a disappointingly small number were seen about the streets.

RECRUITING.

We are about to start the Educational side of our work, and a course of four lectures has been arranged for May. Recruiting is still slow but steady, and we have one permanent Recruiting Centre in the suburbs. Recruiting tables have been set up on various occasions, and drawing-room meetings are still held. Several public meetings have also been held in Cape Town and in the Country. The English-speaking Press continues to show great co-operation and helpfulness to the movement.

LOW VELD

The League sprang into life in the Lowveld at the end of September last year when it became known that a Minister was coming down to a Conference at Skukuza. A few White River women felt that our area must not fail to support the magnificent effort of the League members in Johannesburg and Pretoria, and when the suggestion of "haunting" the Minister was made, there was immediate enthusiasm.

From that, the White River Branch and, later, the Lowveld Region, was born.

BRANCHES.

The Region now has seven branches—Barberton, Elands Valley, Graskop, Nelspruit, Pilgrim's Rest, Sabie and White River. The more difficult and isolated areas are now being tackled. It is perhaps interesting that we were originally told, in two places which now have most flourishing branches, that there would be no enthusiasm at all and that it would, in fact, be impossible to start a branch. In each place, after trying various contacts unsuccessfully, the right person was finally found, and the branch immediately grew like wildfire. In our experience NO district is hopeless—it is simply a matter of finding the right person, with the requisite energy and determination; and then a branch, and often a excellent one can be formed.

VIGILS.

The Region has had two opportunities only to "haunt" a Minister. Vigils were kept on the special dates at as many centres as possible—the largest number on any date being eight. A certain amount of exchanging was done between branches so that members who felt unable for business reasons to stand in their own town or village, were given the opportunity to do so elsewhere. Numbers taking part in the vigils varied from four to thirty. We found it advisable in the heat to let members stand for half-hour or forty minute periods instead of an hour. and those taking part generally stood in turn in two teams.

Two cars went from the Lowveld to the Cape Town Rally, and the Region contributed to a third from another Region. Those who went returned full of enthusiasm. Locally, our chief event was the visit of Mrs. Foley and Mrs. Betty Taylor at the end of February, when most successful meetings were held at five different centres. Their coming down was greatly appreciated and we are convinced that the value in country districts of such meetings, and the personal contacts made, cannot be over-estimated.

FIGHT AGAINST FEAR.

Apart from the difficulties presented by organising a scattered country Region, we are, like all the other Regions, struggling against apathy and ignorance. But almost as important is a third enemy—FEAR. At our last Regional Meeting, in the report from every single branch, this factor was stressed. In towns and cities members are almost anonymous; in country places they are individuals. Many women who would like to join and take an active part are afraid for their husband's job or business, or for the reaction on their children. Others have been told by their employers—who have sometimes supported us generously themselves—that they must not take part in vigils. They cannot afford to disobey. We know that fear and intimidation must be fought, that people MUST have courage. We look to the future confident that this will eventually be achieved.

B.T.

JOHANNESBURG

The Johannesburg Regional Committee meets once a week and a general meeting for all members is held once a fortnight. The sub-committees meet once a week and submit reports to both committee and

general meetings.

An extraordinary general meeting was held on 27th March, 1956, at which 500 women were present. This meeting was called to explain to the members the future policy of the W.D.C.L. The policy was presented by Mrs. J. Sinclair, supported by Miss McClarty, M.P.C., and members of the National Executive and Regional Committee.

DEMONSTRATIONS.

Johannesburg took part in three national demonstrations, viz. the opening of Parliament; the Convoy to Cape Town; the passing of the S.A. Act Amendment Bill. One hundred and fourteen Johannesburg women went on convoy to Cape Town in thirty-four cars.

Regional Demonstrations were held at the Rand Show when Dr. van Rhyn opened the new Industries Hall and a "Black Rose Day" was held in Johannesburg on 10th April to mark the re-opening of Parliament after the Easter recess. In the evening a public meeting was held in the Selborne Hall, which was

a great success.

There has not been much activity with vigils and ministerial assignments recently owing to Parliament sitting in Cape Town, but two week-end routine assignments were held on Friday nights and Monday mornings at the Airport, irrespective of definite information of ministers' movements. Due to officious police interference on 29th March at Jan Smuts Airport the numbers of Black Sash women allocated to carry out assignments at the Airport have been limited to 40 inside the terminal hall. This has not been a very popular move among the members of the Black Sash in Johannesburg.

PROPAGANDA AND INFORMATION.

This sub-committee is always active in its quiet way. It is responsible for the panel of speakers, for all literature and propaganda distribution and has provided us with an excellent and most adequate supply of articles, speeches and general propaganda matter.

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH ORGANISATION.

This is a very active and busy committee where the work has resulted in the formation of 20 suburban branches, which meet once a month and have formed study circles and discussion groups.

S. EASTERN TRANSVAAL REGION

Fifty members attended the monthly meeting of the South-Eastern Transvaal Region, which was held at the Springs Country Club on 14th May. As this was their first meeting after the Bloemfontein Congress, it was felt that it would be interesting for as many members as possible to hear the reports of the delegates to the Congress. Mrs. Fourie, Marievale, took the chair, and welcomed those present, particularly Mrs. Treliving and Mrs. Bell of Witbank. Branch reports were of particular interest, as a "Black Rose Day" had been staged on 21st April with great success. Mrs. Hahn and Mrs. Thomas of Springs (Delmas), Mrs. Cleaver of Nigel, Mrs. Abrahamson of Marievale, Mrs. Olivier of Brakpan, Mrs. Kent of Benoni, Mrs. Malan of Boksburg and Mrs. Salters of Germiston, all reported very good distribution and acceptance of leaflets (printed in English and Afrikaans) on the policy of the Black Sash. A black rose was attached to each leaflet.

All branches felt they could have done with many more leaflets—even Springs, which distributed 1,000 copies. Most branches reported fund raising activities, much to the joy of the Treasurer, Mrs. Hahn, who could not resist sitting back and gleefully rubbing her hands. Mrs. Olivier, our Black Sash Organiser reported on three successful "haunts" car-

ried out in Benoni.

Owing to the amount of work on the agenda and the time factor, Mrs. Fourie was able to give only a brief report on the National Congress. She spoke of her admiration of the wonderful spirit that existed throughout the Congress, and mentioned in her address that Mrs. Foley had reminded delegates to impress on all their members that:

"They also serve who only stand and wait."

This was felt to be truly in keeping with our

vigils.

Mrs. Fourie then spoke of Mrs. Sinclair's report, and the inspiring amount of work done, and still

to be done, by the Black Sash.

In closing her report Mrs. Fourie apologised for having said so little about so much, and again reminded the members of the tremendous amount of work still to be done by the Black Sash.

ESME SALTERS, Boksburg.

THE BLACK SASH

THE BLACK SASH has, for twelve months, made a stand which is known to all South Africa.

It has not deviated from that stand by a hair's breadth, nor does it ever intend to do so.

During the period of silence imposed on it while the Senate Act is before the Courts, the League intends to direct its activities and demonstrations against those through whom political morality has reached its nadir.

The League contends that the attitude of mind which has brought about increasing deprivation of our liberties, and the ever mounting tensions which menace our country, should be publicly condemned. ALL Cabinet Ministers who subscribe to theories and support Bills inimical to the tranquility and wellbeing of the peoples of South Africa, must, because of the far reaching consequences, be made aware of the people's mounting resentment and anger, by the methods of silent protest evolved by the Black Sash in past months.

QUESTION AND ANSWER

PEOPLE are constantly saying to us, "We think you are wonderful, but-what are your aims? What do you hope to achieve? How far do you think you will get?" We find these questions rather difficult to answer, mainly because we feel that the answers should by now be obvious.

Our movement is primarily one of protest, protest in the first instance against a particular measure, but now broadened to include any legislation which we consider immoral, repressive, or undemocratic. The aims of our constant silent protest demonstrations are twofold: we hope to touch the conscience of those who are responsible for the present contentious legislation, and we hope to arouse those South Africans who disapprove of these measures to a sense of their own duty — the need to protest. We realise only too well that the protest of a relatively small number of women is not enough to turn the present Government from its disastrous course, and so we are making unceasing efforts to gain the active support of all good citizens. You will admit that we have made our voices heard throughout the country-just imagine the noise we could make if every right-thinking South African added his protest to ours! That is what we hope to achieve. As for how far we hope to get—we shall get as far as the support we get from you will carry us.

Finally, we do not think we are wonderful! We are merely a large group of very ordinary women from many walks of life, of all ages, and of various interests, with only this in common, that we are fighting very hard for the principles which we hold dear, fighting lest the freedoms for which our fathers strove be taken from our children. We are held together by an amazing bond, a strange spiritual sense of unity and dedication, and, fortified by this spirit, we are determined to go on and on.

Bue we do need your help, and we need it now!

D.G.

COUNTRY BRANCH ORGANISATION.

On 16th March, at a meeting held in Springs, the S.E. Transvaal Region, with Springs as the head-Johannesburg was formed. regretted parting with the East Rand and S.E. country areas but we felt that the region was growing too big to be handled with competency. It is hoped towards the end of the year to form the Western Transvaal into their own region. There are at the moment eight flourishing branches in this area, but the distances from Johannesburg make it extremely difficult for them to be represented on any committee or to attend general meetings. The Country branches organisation have been very active in sending recruiting teams of bilingual speakers out into the districts.

REGIONAL CHAIRS AND SECRETARIES

BLOEMFONTEIN

C. Mrs. H. O'Connor, P.O. Box 245.

S. Mrs. S. Kruger, 5 Friend House, West Burger Street.

CAPE TOWN

C. Mrs. Cherry van Selm, High Rising, Weltevreden Road, Rondebosch.

S. Mrs. M. Henderson, Cranborne House, Salisbury Road, Wynberg.

DURBAN

C. Mrs. S. Osborne, 626 Essenwood Road,

S. Mrs. J. Hill, 27 Meyrick Avenue. EAST LONDON

C. Mrs. D. Curry, 3 Carisbrooke Road, Stirling Ext.

S. Mrs. B. Spence, 20 Conniston Court, 30 St. Peter's Road.

JOHANNESBURG

C. Mrs. B. Barker, 16 Porter Avenue, Melrose North.

S. Mrs. B. Cluver, 18 Connaught Avenue, Sandringham.

SOUTH-EASTERN TRANSVAAL

C. Mrs. M. Fourie, Marievale Mine, P.O. Marieshaft, Nigel.

S. Mrs. S. Salters, 8 Excelsior Court, Boksburg.

KIMBERLEY

C. Mrs. M. Hitchman, 2a Dalham Road.

S. Mrs. K. Smith, 11 Lodge Road.

PIETERMARITZBURG

C. Mrs. M. Corrigall, Midhouse, Swartkop Road.

S. Mrs. O. Forsyth, 2 New England Road.

PORT ELIZABETH

C. Mrs. S. Pirie, 68 Westview Drive. S. Mrs. D. Davis, 196 Main Road, Walmer.

PRETORIA

C. Mrs. N. von Geusau, 44 Lawley Street, Waterkloof.

S. Mrs. A. Howse, 342 Giovanetti Street, New Muckleneuk.

LOW VELD

C. Mrs. Sandenbergh, Eastry, Plaston.

S. Mrs. B. Tracey, Pleasant Hill, P.O. Box 17, White River.

MIDDELBURG (CAPE)

C. Mrs. M. Gilfillan, Glen Heath, Conway.

S. Mrs. S. Southey, P.O. Schoombie, via Middelburg.

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